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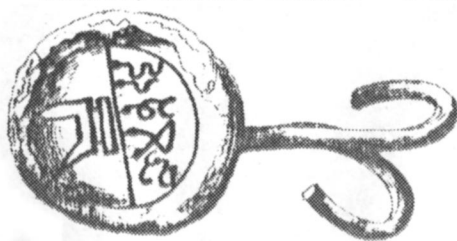




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# JOURNAL

OF

## THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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ART. X.—*Translations of Three Copper Plate Inscriptions of the Fourth Century, A.D., and Notices of the Châlukya and Gurjjara Dynasties.* By Professor J. Dowson, Staff College, Sandhurst.

[Read March 21, 1864.]

IN the year 1837, Dr. A. Burn transmitted to Mr. James Prinsep, then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, transcripts and facsimiles of four Copper Plate Inscriptions. "These plates," he said, "were found in the town of Kaira, about ten years ago. The river *Watrua* runs close to the walls on the north-west side, and was the cause of the discovery, by washing down the walls and earth. They had been handed about the country among the natives for translation, it being supposed they were connected with some deposit of treasure. At last they were brought to me by a *fakir*, of whom I purchased them."<sup>1</sup>

These plates proved to be of great archæological value, for three of them being dated both in words and figures, they furnished a key to the value of the old Sanskrit numerals. Much pleased with the discovery of this fact, Mr. Prinsep published fac-similes and explanations of the dates,<sup>2</sup> and followed up the clue thus placed in his hands with characteristic ardour.

In October, 1838, after Mr. Prinsep had left India, a transcript and a partial translation of one plate was published,

<sup>1</sup> Journal Beng. As. Soc. vol. vii. p. 908. Thomas's Prinsep, vol. i. p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> Beng. J. vol. vii. p. 348. Thomas, vol. ii., p. 70.



and in the following month a complete transcript and translation of another was issued.<sup>1</sup>

Upon Dr. Burn returning home he presented to the Royal Asiatic Society the original plates of three of these inscriptions—those referred to as Nos. 2, 3, and 4 by Mr. Prinsep,—in fact, the doubly dated, and therefore the most valuable of the series. Fac-similes of the three plates were soon afterwards lithographed : but no one having up to the present time prepared translations, they have remained unpublished. I now propose to offer transliterations and translations of the three records.

Of the three inscriptions, the one which is here numbered “2” is that of which a transcript and a partial translation have been already published as above stated ; the other two have received no notice beyond Mr. Prinsep’s explanation of their dates. Much confusion has hitherto prevailed in the references to the numbers of these plates, from two different series of numbers having been employed in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The numbers appended to the fac-similes now published accord entirely with the numbers used by Mr. Prinsep in his first paper, that on the dates (vol. vii. p. 348). The translation which came out subsequently (ib. p. 908), and which is said to be of “No. 4,” is in reality “No. 2,” and that at p. 966, which is called “No. 1,” ought to have been numbered “4,” for it had not been noticed in the first paper. This last, moreover, is the one which is absent from the present series.

The three plates now published were, as it would seem, found together ; and although they are records of grants made by kings of different dynasties, they appear to have had a common object, and present some curious points of similarity and connection. Their dates are included within a period of fourteen years (Samvat 380 to 394), and they are grants made, like many others, for the due performance of the Bali, Charu, Vaiṣwadeva, Agnihotra, and the five great sacrifices. So far, then, they are in agreement. A closer examination proves a much closer identity of origin. No. 1 is a grant by a Châ-

<sup>1</sup> *Beng. J.* vol. vii. p. 908, 966. *Thomas*, vol. i. pp. 257, 263.

lukya king, Nos. 2 and 3 are grants of a Gurjjara dynasty : but a comparison of the names of the grantees proves them to be identical ;<sup>1</sup> and there can be no doubt that the grants were made by two contemporary dynasties, for the same purposes and to the same individuals. Further, Nos. 2 and 3 agree word for word throughout excepting only in the dates and in the names and other particulars of the grantees. From death or some other reason the number of grantees is considerably reduced in the later document, which can only be looked upon as a cancel of the original grant. No. 1 is the latest in date, and is a palimpsest. Traces of engraving on the backs of its plates are visible, and many of the letters are legible, but no complete word has been read with the exception of the date. The original record has been so hammered and filed as to leave nothing more intelligible. The words *Chaturmnarati* (94), *Samvatsara*, *Vaiṣākha*, and the numerals 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀮 394, somewhat differently formed from those in the reproduced record, may however be confidently picked out. Until I succeeded in making out the date, I was disposed to think that the first copy had been cancelled with the same object as that which led to the supersession of the earlier of the above noticed grants, viz., a change in the names of the grantees. It is just possible, but scarcely probable, that such may have been the reason. With no hint to guide us, it is futile to form any conjectures as to the cause of the abrogation of the first document. We may assume the later document to be a rectification of its predecessor, but such rectification may have been rendered necessary by a great variety of reasons—from the blundering of a conveyancer or engraver to the death of a king.

Taking these documents together, it seems clear that the Chālukya and Gurjjara dynasties favoured the same individuals and were actuated by the same objects. The inference may therefore be fairly drawn that amity existed between them, and that their dominions were contiguous. The locality of

<sup>1</sup> There are some variations in the orthography of the names—thus, the *Tūṛiṣṭa* of one is doubtless the *Tūṛiṣṭa* of the other. Such uncertainty in the spelling of vernacular names is common in inscriptions.

the lands granted is sufficiently clear. The town of Jambosara (Jumbooseer) is mentioned in the grants, and the plates were all found together at Kaira, so that in all probability the lands were near these towns, most probably in close contiguity to the former.

Some doubt has hitherto been felt as to the era in which these plates are dated.<sup>1</sup> Was the "Samvatsara" that of Vikramâditya or that of Ballabhi? Between these two eras there is a period of 374 years, so that if the inscriptions are dated in the former they belong to the middle of the fourth century A.D., but if in the latter they will come down to the beginning of the eighth century. The grants are certainly contemporary, so that to decide the era of one is to settle that of all. This may be satisfactorily done by means of grant No. 1. There is good evidence, as will be presently shown, that Pulakeṣi, a Châlukya monarch, and a successor of the Jaya Sinha of this grant, was reigning in A.D. 489. This fact puts the Ballabhi era entirely aside.

#### GRANT NO. 1.—CHÂLUKYA DYNASTY.

The first grant was made, as has been stated, by a Châlukya king, and is the earliest of that dynasty which has yet come to light. The history of this dynasty has hitherto been almost the exclusive property of Mr. Walter Elliot, of the Madras Civil Service, who collected some hundreds of inscriptions relating to the dynasties of the south, transcripts of which he deposited in the Library of the Society.<sup>2</sup> The historical results deducible from these Inscriptions he published in a valuable paper printed in vol. iv. of the Journal. Returning to India he still prosecuted his researches, and in 1858 he put forth in the Madras Journal a paper of "Numismatic Gleanings," which contains some important additions to the history of the Châlukyas. These are so necessary for our present purpose that no apology is needed for transferring to our columns that portion of the paper which relates to the

<sup>1</sup> See Table of Inscriptions in the Index of the Jour. of the Ben. A. S. p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> There are some notices of the Châlukyas among Mr. Wathen's Inscriptions, published in vols. ii. iii. iv. and v. of the Journal; but these in all probability had come under the notice of Mr. Elliot before he published his memoir. See particularly vol. ii. p. 380, and vol. v. p. 343.



Châlukyas as supplementary to his chief paper on the subject in the Journal of the Society :—

“Previous to the arrival of the first Châlukya in the Dakhan the Pallavas were the dominant race. In the reign of Trilochana Pallava, an invading army, headed by Jaya Sinha, surnamed Vijayâditya of the Châlukya-kula, crossed the Nerbudda, but failed to obtain a permanent footing. Jaya Sinha seems to have lost his life in the attempt, for his queen, then pregnant, is described as flying after his death and taking refuge with a Brahmin called Vishnu Somayâji, in whose house she gave birth to a son named Râja Sinha, who subsequently assumed the titles of Rana-râga and Vishnu Vardhana. On attaining to man’s estate, he renewed the contest with the Pallavas, in which he was finally successful, cementing his power by a marriage with a princess of that race, and transmitting the kingdom thus founded to his posterity. His son and successor was named Pulakeśi, and his son was Vijayâditya II. A copper *śāsanam*, recording a grant made by Pulakeśi which bears date s.s. 411 or A.D. 489, is extant in the British Museum. The next prince was Kîrtti Varma, who left two sons, the elder of whom, Satyâśraya, succeeded him in the kingdom of Kuntala-deśa, the capital of which was Kalyân, a city still existing under the same name, about one hundred miles west and a little north of Hyderabad; while the younger, Kubja Vishnu Vardhana or Vishnu Vardhana the Little,<sup>1</sup> established a new seat for himself in Telingana by the conquest of Vengipuram, the capital of the Vengi-deśam, which comprised the districts between the Godavery and the Krishna below the Ghats. This event appears to have taken place about the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century.

“The two families ruled over the whole of the table-land between the Nerbudda and the Krishna, together with the coast of the Bay of Bengal from Ganjam to Nellore, for about five centuries.<sup>2</sup> The power of the Kalyân dynasty was sub-

<sup>1</sup> The word *kubja* properly signifies “crooked” or “hunch-backed.”

<sup>2</sup> Dating from the first conquest of Râja Sinha, the whole period would be seven centuries; but there is some chronological obscurity about the earlier princes of the series which we hope to clear up hereafter.

verted for a time in the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, and the emigrant prince or his son succeeded by marriage in A.D. 931 to the throne of Anhalwâra Pattan in Guzerat, which his descendants occupied with great glory till A.D. 1145.<sup>1</sup> But in A.D. 973 the dynasty of Kalyân was restored in the person of Tailapa Deva, and ruled with greater splendour than before till its extinction in A.D. 1189 by Bijjala Deva, the founder of the Kalabhuriya dynasty.<sup>2</sup>

"The junior branch extended their territories northwards from Vengi to the frontiers of Cuttack, and ultimately fixed their capital at Râjamahendri, the modern Rajahmundry. More than one revolution appears to have occurred in the course of their history, but the old family always contrived to regain its power, until the kingdom passed by marriage to Râjendra Chola, the then dominant sovereign of Southern India, in whose person the power of the Cholas had reached its zenith. Whether the acquisition of Telingana was due entirely to inheritance or to the joint influence of force cemented by matrimonial alliance, is not clear. The fact, however, is certain, that the Chola power was established in the eastern Châlukya territories for upwards of a century and a half, and has left permanent traces of its existence. Râjendra Chola was succeeded by his son Vikrama Deva, surnamed Kulottunga Chola. On the death of his uncle Vijayâditya, who had been viceroy of Vengi-deṣam, the king deputed his son Râja Râja to assume the office; but after holding it for one year, A.D. 1078, he resigned it in favour of his younger brother, Vîra Deva Chola, who assumed the title of Kulottunga Chola. His grants are found in great numbers from A.D. 1079 up to the year 1135, when a partial restoration of the Châlukya line appears to have taken place, and they maintained a feeble and divided influence till the latter part of the twelfth century, when the country fell under the sway of the Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal.<sup>3</sup>

"To assist future inquiries in assigning the coins of the

<sup>1</sup> Tod Ann. Rajasthan, where the Anhalwâra family is styled both Solanki and Châlukya, pp. 80 and 97.

<sup>2</sup> Journ. R.A.S. vol. iv., p. 17; and Madras Journ. Lit. and Sc. vol. vii. p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest inscription of the Kakatiyas that has been met in Vengideṣam, now the Northern Circars, bears date A.D. 1175, the latest 1336.

Châlukya race to their proper authors, a list of the sovereigns of both branches is subjoined :—

1. Jâya Sinha, Vijayâditya.
2. Râja Sinha, Raṇa Râga, Vishnu Vardhana.
3. Vijayâditya II.
4. Pulakeṣi, A.D. 489.
5. Kîrtti Varma I.
6. Mangaliṣa.

Kîrtti Varma had two sons, of whom the former, Satyâṣraya, succeeded his father and uncle (who seems for a time to have usurped his rights) as the representative of the Kalyân branch, and from him that line has been called the Satyâṣraya Kula, while the latter Vishnu Vardhana the Little (*Kubja*) was the founder of the Râjahmundry dynasty.

#### WESTERN LINE.

7. Satyâṣraya began to reign A.D. 609.
8. Amara.
9. Âditya.
10. Vikramâditya I.
11. Vinayâditya, Yuddha Malla, began to reign A.D. 680.
12. Vijayâditya III. began to reign A.D. 695.
13. Vikramâditya II. began to reign A.D. 733.
14. Kîrtti Varma II.
15. Kîrtti Varma III., cousin of the last, A.D. 799.
16. Tailapa.
17. Bhîma Râja.
18. Ayya or Kîrtti Varma IV.
19. Vijayâditya IV.
20. Taila Bhûpa II. or Vikramâditya III., in A.D. 973 restored the monarchy which had been for some time usurped by the Ratta Kula. He died A.D. 997.
21. Satyâṣraya II. Irivi Bhujânga Deva, A.D. 997.
22. Vikramâditya V. began to reign about A.D. 1008 (?)
23. Jaya Sinha Deva, Jagadeka Malla, about A.D. 1018 (?)
24. Someṣwara Deva I., Trailokya Malla, Âhawa Malla, about A.D. 1040:
25. Someṣwara Deva II., Bhuneka Malla, A.D. 1069, expelled by his brother.



26. Vikramâditya VI., Kâli Vikrama, Tribhuvana Malla, in A.D. 1076.
27. Someṣwara Deva III., Bhûloka Malla, A.D. 1127.
28. Jagadeka Malla, A.D. 1138.
29. Tailapa Deva III., Trailokya Malla, A.D. 1150.
30. Someṣwara Deva IV., Tribhuvana Malla, A.D. 1182.  
Dethroned by Bijjala Deva of the Kalabhuriya line.

## EASTERN LINE.

1. Vishnu Vardhana II., or Kubja Vishnu Vardhana, conquered Vengi A.D. 605.
2. Jaya Sinha I.
3. Indra Râja, his brother.
4. Vishnu Vardhana III.
5. Manga Yuva Râja.
6. Jaya Sinha III.
7. Kokkili.
8. Vishnu Vardhana IV.
9. Vijayâditya I.
10. Vishnu Vardhana V.
11. Narendra Mriga Râja.
12. Vishnu Vardhana VI., or Kâli Vishnu Vardhana.
13. Vijayâditya II., or Guna Gunânka Vijayâditya, conquered Kalinga.
14. Châlukya Bhîma I., his brother.
15. Vijayâditya III., or Kollâbhiganda Vijaya.
16. Amma Râja.
17. Vijayâditya IV., or Kandagachita Vijaya.
18. Tâlapa. Usurper.
19. Vikramâditya V., the son of a brother of Amma Râja I.
20. Yuddha Malla.<sup>1</sup>
21. Râja Bhîma II.
22. Amma Râja II.
23. Dhanârṇava. Interregnum of twenty-seven years.
24. Kîrtti Varma, son of Dhanârṇava.
25. Vimalâditya, his brother.
26. Râja Râja Narendra.

<sup>1</sup> Some accounts make Yuddha Malla the son and successor of Tâlapa, and expelled by Vikramâditya V.

27. Râjendra Chola.

28. Vikrama Deva Kulottunga Chola.

29. Râja Râja Chola, viceroy for one year.

30. Vira Deva Kulottunga Chola or Saptama Vishnu Vardhana. Viceroy from A.D. 1079 to 1135.

"The Châlukyas were of lunar race, and apparently worshippers of Vishnu. The fact of Râja Sinha having been educated by Vishnu Bhaṭṭa Somayâji, a Vaishnava Brahmin, probably tended to confirm the attachment of the family to this creed. Their style and titles are as follows: Châlukya-kula; Mânavyasa-gotra; Hârîti-putra, whose royal power was the gift of Kauṣika; nourished by the seven mothers; worshipping Swâmi Mahâsena; having the boar signet (lâṅchhana) the gift of Bhagavân Nârâyana. The insignia of royalty are elsewhere described as consisting of

The white canopy	Śwetâtapatra.
The conch shell	Śankha.
The naubat	Pancha-mahâ-śabda.
The plough ensign	Ilaleketana.
The drum	Dhakka.
The boar signet	Varâha-lâṅchhana.
The peacock fan	Mayûra-pinchha.
The spear or mace	Kunta.
The throne	Sinhâsana.
The royal arch	Makara-toraṇam.
The golden sceptre	Kanaka-daṇḍam.

But in the inscriptions recorded when they were at the height of their power, the white canopy, the boar signet, the peacock fan, the royal mace, and the golden sceptre only are mentioned. Of these, the boar ensign was the most celebrated, and was the symbol invariably represented on their money and on their seals, sometimes in the latter accompanied by the conch shell, the drum, the peacock fan, and other insignia not enumerated above, as a lotus, an *ankuṣ* or elephant goad, candelabra, a seat or stool (?) the *swastika* cross, etc.; and on those of later date a sword.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether the sword was ever assumed by the true Châlukyas or only adopted by a succeeding dynasty.

“Considering the extent and long duration of their power it is extraordinary that their coins are not more frequently met with. Those represented in plate I. (thirty-four in number) contain the whole that have fallen in my way during the twenty-five years that I have been inquiring for them. I have, however, heard of several specimens which have not come under my own eye.”

It thus appears that the earliest date known to Mr. Elliot was that of Pulakeṣi in Śaka 411 (A.D. 489). This date was obtained from a copper-plate in the possession of Captain Jervis, and of which a transcript and abstract translation was published by Mr. Wathen in the Society's Journal.<sup>1</sup> This grant and the inscription from Ye-ur which Mr. Elliot gives at length<sup>2</sup> are the most important of his authorities. The latter inscription was found upon an upright stone in a temple at Ye-ur in the Nizam's territories, and the genealogy it contains professes to have been copied from a copper plate. The last name it records is that of Tribhuvana Malla, No. 26 in the above list, who was reigning in A.D. 1076.

Upon the above authority, the rise of the Chālukya line has hitherto been placed in the early part of the fifth century; but the inscription now translated, being dated in 394 Samvat, or 338 A.D., and being a grant made by the third of the line, the origin of the Chālukya dynasty must be referred to the very beginning of the fourth century after Christ, perhaps even it may be carried back to the third century.

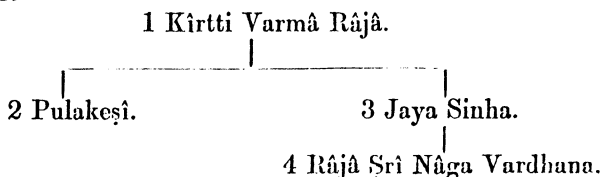
Jaya Sinha, the first named in this grant, is always recognized as the founder of the dynasty. The grant of Pulakeṣi and the inscription of Ye-ur both declare the fact, and it may be considered certain. The names of his two successors, Buddha Varmā (son), and Vijaya Rājā Sarvva (grandson), which we find in this grant, have not been met with in any other record, unless indeed the latter can be identified with the Vijayāditya No. 3 of Mr. Elliot's list. The date of this grant being 338 A.D. a period of about two hundred years intervenes between Jaya Sinha and the grant of Pulakeṣi in 489, and

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v. 343.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. 38.

to fill up this period Mr. Elliot gives only three names, Pulakeṣi standing fourth in the list. There is here a manifest deficiency; if the dates are right other names must have intervened: there can therefore be little hesitation about introducing those which the present inscription supplies. The nearer an inscription comes in point of time to the facts which it records, the better is its authority. The names of unfortunate or unenterprising kings soon fade from the memory, and among a people so devoid of the true historic feeling as the Hindus, they easily fall into utter oblivion. Such will be found to be the fact as we proceed. The names of Pulakeṣi and other favourites are frequently cited, while others are as frequently passed over. Nor is this all; the order of the names is sometimes found inverted, and other discrepancies are met with which show that the Chālukyas were but poorly informed about the history of their line.

In addition to the inscriptions above noticed, several belonging to this dynasty have appeared in the pages of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The earliest<sup>1</sup> of these is without date, but the character in which it is written closely resembles that of our plates, and cannot be very long posterior to them. The names also indicate the period to which it belongs. Rājā Śrī Nāga Vardhana makes the grant which the inscription records, and the genealogy is thus stated:



Even thus early we find discrepancies. According to Mr. Elliot's table, and the generally received genealogy, Pulakeṣi was the father, not the son, of Kīrtti Varmā, and it seems impossible to understand this error. The names of Jaya Sinha and of his son Nāga Vardhana also present great difficulties. Mr. Elliot's list gives us Viṣṇu Vardhana, the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 4.



founder of the Eastern line, who conquered Vengî in A.D. 605, and he was succeeded by a Jaya Sinha. Could it be supposed that Vishṇu Vardhana and Nâga Vardhana were mere variant names of the same monarch, it would be necessary to invert this order; but although the grant is in all probability inaccurate as to the relative position of the grantor's uncle and grandfather, the same error cannot be supposed to have been made respecting himself and his next relative—it is utterly incredible that the name of his son should have been given as that of his father. The evidence upon which Mr. Elliot has placed Jaya Sinha after Vishṇu Vardhana does not appear; it was no doubt cogent, and the result ought not to be lightly disturbed. The alternatives, then, are these—shall the names of Vishṇu Vardhana and Nâga Vardhana be assigned to the same person, and the name of Jaya Sinha be placed before him, instead of after, in the order of succession? or shall the names of Nâga Vardhana and Jaya Sinha be introduced as additions to Mr. Elliot's list? In favour of the former there is nothing but the partial and unsatisfactory resemblance of the names. Independent of what has been urged against the first alternative, there are reasons in favour of the opposite course and for the interpolation of the names. The date of the inscription now published is 338 A.D., and, as above stated, the character in which it is written and that of the grant under discussion are very similar. This should lead us to place the two as near together in point of time as possible. But if Nâga Vardhana and Vishṇu Vardhana were names of the same monarch, three centuries must have passed between the two inscriptions, for Vishṇu Vardhana was reigning in 605 A.D. This is a longer interval than the similarity of the writing would seem to warrant. Again, the date of Pulakeṣi is 489 A.D., and Satyâṣraya, who stands third after him in the list, began to reign in 609 A.D., thus leaving a period of one hundred and twenty years occupied by only two names. There appears also to have been some interruption of the regular order or succession about this time. The evidence then is all in favour of the introduction of the

names of Jaya Sinha and Rājā Śrī Nāga Vardhana before the name of Satyāśraya.

Mr. Elliot has already noticed the great power of Pulakeṣi and the alleged extent of his conquests.<sup>1</sup> This grant of Nāga Vardhana's states that Pulakeṣi "reconquered his own dominions, and (afterwards) the three kingdoms of Chera, Chola and Pāndya;" he also "gained a new title by the defeat of Śrīharsha, lord of the northern countries."

The grant which seems to come next in order of time is without date.<sup>2</sup> It contains only three names—Rāṇa Vikrama, his son Kirtti Varmā, and his son Viṣṇu Vardhana. The inscription was translated by Bal G. Shastree, who conceives this Rāṇa Vikrama to be represented by Vikramāditya II., No. 13 of the list, who was succeeded by a Kirtti Varmā. If this were correct, the name of Viṣṇu Vardhana would have to be inserted in the above list, between the two Kirtti Varmās (Nos. 14 and 15). A different appropriation of the names, however, seems preferable. The Shastree indeed hesitated greatly in his identification, observing that the character in which the grant is written might "make it two or three centuries older;" to which observation a hearty assent may be given. The loose and varying nature of the genealogies in these grants has already been commented upon. It would seem, indeed, that the word "son" meant nothing more than "descendant" in many cases, and that the writers, either from ignorance, or from utter indifference to the truth, frequently confined themselves to the recital of some of the more prominent and best-remembered names. The writing of the document should carry it back as far as possible. It may therefore be assigned to Viṣṇu Vardhana, the founder of the Eastern line, who conquered Vengi in A.D. 605. His father was Kirtti Varmā, as stated in the inscription, but to find a name at all in consonance with that of Rāṇa Vikrama it is necessary to go back three steps to Rāṇa Rāga, No. 2 of Mr. Elliot's list, and to get at this name the renowned and often cited Pulakeṣi is passed over. There is a difficulty about this, but a solution may possibly be found in the fact that

<sup>1</sup> Journ. iv. p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Journ. Bomb. R. A.S. ii. p. 1.

Raṇa Rāga was known also under the names of Rāja Sinha and Viṣṇu Vardhana. The latter being the name of the author of the grant may have induced him to single out and record the monarch who bore the same name as himself.

The next two grants<sup>1</sup> have no date, but their place in the series is obvious. They give the names of four kings to whom the kingdom descended regularly from father to son—Pulakeṣi, Kīrtti Varmā, Satyāśraya, and Vikramāditya. The wording of the genealogy is peculiar. After naming "Pulakeṣi Vallabha the ornament of the race," it goes on: "his great grandson, the great grandson of Kīrtti Varmā, the beloved son of Satyāśraya, the unconquerable Vikramāditya." The grants are made by the wife of Chandrāditya, elder brother of this Vikramāditya, but no mention is made of his ever having sat upon the throne. We have next a grant by Vijayāditya,<sup>2</sup> who declares himself to be the son of Vinayāditya, son of Vikramāditya, and so on upwards to Pulakeṣi, in exact accordance with its predecessor—in fact, the wording of the two grants is to a great extent identical. This grant is dated Śaka 627 (A.D. 705) and agrees with Mr. Elliot's table which makes this king to have reigned from 695 to 733 A.D. Two points in these records are worthy of observation. They all declare Satyāśraya to have gained the title of *Parameśvara* by his "defeat of Śrī Harsha Vardhana, lord of the northern countries;" a victory which a previous inscription ascribed to Pulakeṣi, who also bore the appellation of Satyāśraya or Satya Śrī, and who has the best title to the honour of the conquest. This is another instance of the very vague and imperfect knowledge which the Chālukya monarchs possessed of the history of their dynasty. The last-named grant (dated 705 A.D.) states that Vinayāditya "made the rulers of Kumara, Pārasika, and Sinhaha pay him tribute, and gradually acquired the full symbol of supremacy by the overthrow of the kings of the northern countries." *Kumara* is evidently intended for Kumārī or Kumārikā, that is, the most southern of the *śūtipas* or divisions of Jambudwīpa, from which we derive our Cape Comorin. *Pārasika* is Persia, and *Sinhaha* is a

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Bomb. R.A.S., iii. 205, 211.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 206.

blunder for *Sinhala*, Ceylon. The vaunt of the inscription must doubtless be taken with a very considerable deduction, but it may be fairly assumed that the king's knowledge and ambition extended thus far; perhaps even that he had some intercourse with these countries, and flattered his vanity by stretching some complimentary visit or present into a proof of homage and submission.

The next reference to the Châlukyas is made in a grant of the Râshṭra Kûṭa dynasty,<sup>1</sup> dated 1008 A.D., which says that Teilapa of the Châlukya race, having defeated a Râshṭra Kûṭa king, came to the throne, and that "his son Satyâṣraya became after him the master of the earth." This confirms Mr. Elliot's statement that the Rattas gained the ascendancy for a time, till they were finally reduced to subjection by Teilapa."<sup>2</sup> The date also agrees, as Satyâṣraya reigned from 997 to 1008 A.D. This grant being dated in 1008 may justify us in extending his reign a little longer.

There are two other grants<sup>3</sup> of a later period, when the power of the Châlukyas had passed away, but when the name of the dynasty was still maintained by a family reigning or pretending to reign in a corner of the old kingdom. These inscriptions come from the Konkan; one is dated 1182 Śaka, or 1260 A.D., the other bears no date. They profess to belong to the Châlukya family, but they bear none of the characteristic marks of the Châlukya inscriptions. The family is said to be descended from Karṇa, not from Hârîti like the old Châlukyas. The dated inscription gives only one name, that of Kânwa-deva, by whose minister Keṣava, surnamed Mahâjanî, the grant was made. The other gives the names of some "kings of this dynasty who flourished at Sangameṣwar (or Someswar) in the Konkan." They are Karṇa, his son Vegutideva, his son Somadeva, who "repaired to heaven, but finding a vacuity on the earth returned to it." Lastly, his son Someṣwara, who made the grant.

This closes the record of the remains of the Châlukyas. If the facts and speculations above set forth are correct, the

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Bomb. R.A.S., i., 210, 220.

<sup>2</sup> Journ. iv., 11.

<sup>3</sup> Journ. Bomb. R.A.S. ii. 270; iv. 105.



following additions and alterations must be made in the first part of Mr. Elliot's list so often referred to. The lists of the Western and Eastern Lines remain unchanged.

1. Jaya Sinha, Vijayâditya.
2. Buddha Varmâ.
3. Vijaya Râjâ Sarvva, 338 A.D.
4. Râjâ Sinha, Raṇa Râga, Viṣṇu Vardhana.
5. Vijayâditya II.
6. Pulakeṣî, A.D. 489.
7. Kîrtti Varmâ.
8. *Mangaliṣa*.
9. Jaya Sinha.
10. Râjâ Śrî Nâga Vardhana.

Additional names are still required to fill up the interval between No. 3 and No. 6.

At the end of the lists the following names may be added of kings bearing the appellation of Châlukya and reigning in the Konkan. It is unknown whether Kâṇwa Deva, whose date is given, was prior or subsequent to the others. Possibly he may be the same as Karṇa.

Kâṇwa Deva, 1260 A.D.	Karṇa.
	Vetugideva.
	Somadeva.
	Someṣwara.

## 2. THE GURJJARA PLATES.

These two plates may, for all practical purposes at the present day, be considered duplicates. The earlier is dated 15 Kârtik Samvat 380, the later, Kârtik full moon Samvat 385, and as before observed the last differs from the first only in the dates, and in a few particulars respecting the grantees. In the later grant the grantees are reduced in number, and they are not classified, as in the first grant, under the Vedas which they respectively taught and studied; but the differences are so trifling as to render it quite unnecessary to give separate transcripts and translations of both documents. Where they differ the corresponding passages are placed in parallel columns, by which means the variations will be

readily distinguished. There are many minor differences of orthography, and each document has a series of stops or divisions in certain passages which are not found in the other. These stops have all been introduced into the transcript, which may be considered a fair copy of the original document as drawn from two independent versions. Whatever is obscure or doubtful in one has been supplied from the other; but no alterations or emendations have been made beyond the introduction of the \*, which is always absent in the originals.

The transcript now published differs occasionally from that which appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,<sup>1</sup> which would seem to have been rather hastily prepared. The differences, however, are but of slight importance, and the only one deserving notice is that in the title of the grantor, which is Praṣānta not Praṣaṅga-rāga. His name Śrīdatta Kuṣālī is used in the body of the deed, but his assumed title Praṣānta Rāga is employed in the attestation at the end. In the Bengal transcript the title has been substituted for the name in the body of the deed, for which the original gives no warrant. There the name is clearly and unequivocally Śrīdatta Kuṣālī.

"The original of this grant," says the article before referred to, "is in the character of the fourth line of the alphabet plates of this volume, corresponding with that ascertained from inscriptions and coins to have been in use in Gujarat at the period of the date of these grants. Their antiquity is thus assured, but part of the singularity of this particular one consists in the style of the eulogium of the rājā and his ancestors who made the grant, every word of which has a double meaning. The grant is in Sanskrit prose upon the model of the *Kadambari*, by Bana Bhaṭṭa, and has been explained and commented upon at length by the Pandit Kamalākānta, who regards it as a wonderful composition. It is impossible to give this explanation in these pages, for the eulogistic part of the grant, being in this double-meaning style, cannot be translated, the English language not ad-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. vii. p. 908.

mitting of the same amphibologies. The play upon words commences from the first sentence, which plainly translated implies, 'There was a person named Sàmantha Datta, born with fortunate auspices in the royal race of Gajjara ;'<sup>1</sup> but these words admit also of translation, 'There was a boundless ocean named Gajjara,' and this original double meaning has led to the use of epithets and qualities for the rājā which hold equally with different meanings, as applicable to the Gajjara ocean. After wearing out the ocean amphibology, serpents, elephants, and women are pressed into the service by the ingenious conveyancer who drew this deed ; and it is a pity that such a happy device for multiplying mystifying words cannot be more fully explained for the benefit of the practitioners in Chancery-lane, who might find their advantage in imitating it."

The account thus given of the composition of this grant is correct in the main, though somewhat too broadly stated. The opening of the grant is certainly written in the style described, and similar passages subsequently occur ; but there is much which seems to bear only one signification. This "amphibological" style is not uncommon in similar grants of land, but the writer of the present document was certainly an adept in the art, and far transcends his cotemporary the Chālukya conveyancer, whose style is simplicity itself compared with this. The nature of this "amphibology" has been pretty accurately exemplified by the specimen given relating to the Gurjjara ocean. The royal family is compared to the ocean, and such qualities as *sthairyya*, stability ; *gāmbhīryya*, profundity ; and *lāvanya*, saltness or beauty, are attributed to it. And so whenever a natural object is employed as a similitude, epithets are used which are applicable to both type and antitype. No attempt has been made to reproduce this equivocal in the translation, for it would be impossible to follow it up completely, nor would it be appreciated if successfully rendered. Our object is if possible to pick out a few grains of history, and so the whole of the eulogy has

<sup>1</sup> This is a curious blunder persistently repeated. The original is clearly Gurjjara, and so it is rendered in the Bengal transliteration.

been translated with direct reference to the royal personages and their family.

These grants furnish all that is known of the Gurjjara dynasty. The genealogy of the grantor is thus stated—SÂMANTA-DATTA was succeeded by his son VÎTA-RÂGA, otherwise called JAYA-BHATA, and his son ŚRÎ-DATTA KUṢALÎ was the author of the grant. In the attestation at the end of the document, the grantor calls himself “PRAŚANTA-RÂGA,” a title similar in signification to VÎTA-RÂGA, the name borne by his father.

This attestation or note at the end of the document is worthy of especial notice. The words are: “This is the own hand of PRAŚANTA-RÂGA, son of VÎTA-RÂGA, devoted to the worship of the Sun.” The natural interpretation of the *swa-hasto*, “own hand,” is *own hand-writing*, “autograph;” and if this is the real meaning, the words must be looked upon as an attestation added by the grantor himself, or some one specially authorized to sign for him. In the earlier grant this attestation is remarkably clear, in the later one many of the letters are defaced; but there is no doubt about the two being identically the same. When the writing of this attestation is compared with that of the body of the grant, a very considerable difference is apparent. The general style of the whole, and the forms of many individual letters, present a much more modern appearance. Judging from the character of the writing alone, by Prinsep’s Alphabets, it would seem to belong to a period at least three centuries later than the character and the date of the grant itself. One or two of the letters, indeed, bear a still more modern appearance. And it is by the later forms that the age of an inscription must be judged, if judged at all by mere fashions of writing. New forms have to battle long against old habits of writing—and hence old forms should have less weight in favour of antiquity than later ones on the side of a more recent date.

In Prinsep’s well-known table of alphabets dates are affixed to the several lines, and the inscriptions from which they were derived are stated. Conclusive evidence is thus afforded of the use of a particular form of writing at the period in



question; but the evidence proceeds no farther, it does not prove that archaic forms had fallen entirely into desuetude, or that new ones had not already sprung into existence and obtained a more or less extensive currency. That the fashion of writing and forms of letters afford some evidence, some strong indications of the date of their execution, is undeniable; but the date ought not to be assigned with that precision which the tabulated and dated forms of Mr. Prinsep's alphabets have been considered to authorize.

Returning to the document which has elicited these observations, does it furnish any evidence as to the time when the "attestation" was written. Apart from the style of the character, there is nothing in the appearance of it to suggest its having been written subsequently; and if the grantor really wrote it, or if any new hand added it for him, some difference of style might be expected, though not perhaps of the kind observable. On the other side, it is difficult to believe that the royal grantor would thus take the trouble of engraving the letters with his "own hand;" or that he or any other than a regular engraver should have executed the work so well—for the writing is fully equal, perhaps superior, to that of the deed. There is one fact, however, which seems decisive. The name given to the grantor by the attestation is Praṣānta-rāga. This, as before observed, is a title similar in signification to that of his father Vīta-rāga, whose real name was Jaya Bhaṭa. The grantor's true name was Śṛidatta Kuṣali, and that name alone appears in the body of the grant. So that, if what we have called the attestation was added after any considerable lapse of time, the name employed in the document itself would doubtless have been extracted and used. This fact, and that of the attestation appearing on both grants, leave little or no room for doubting it to be what it purports, an attestation written by the hand or by the direct authority of the grantor himself. Satisfactory proof is thus afforded that two sorts of writing were used contemporaneously, which, judging from mere appearances, would seem to belong to periods two or three centuries apart.

A somewhat similar attestation by the writer is found at

the end of the Chálukya Grant (No. 1). There, however, the name is clearly that of the engraver, and has no connection with the name of the grantor. The letters in this attestation are larger than those in the body of the document, but the form and style of them are the same.

Another interesting fact in this inscription is that the grantor and his ancestors were declared worshippers of the sun. The prevalence of this worship in this part of India about the time of these grants has already excited attention, and one of the kings recorded in the Vallabhi Grants was a "great adorer of the sun."<sup>1</sup> This worship, however, must not be understood as a worship, pure and simple, of the great luminary, but as a preference given to him over the other deities of the Hindu Pantheon. This fact of "Sun-worship" entirely escaped notice in the account of the grants which was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but stress has since been laid upon the circumstance of the Vedas being unmentioned in the grants, and of their not "containing one word of Brahmanical gods or Brahmans."<sup>2</sup> A perusal of the translation will show this statement to be unfounded. There is, perhaps, less reference to Hindu gods than is usual in these documents; but the grant is distinctly made, for encouraging the study of the Vedas, to Brahmans whose names and gotras are specified; and in the first or cancelled grant the grantees are arranged in distinct classes as teachers and students of the four Vedas. The objects for which the grant was made, the perpetuation of the *Agnihotra*, etc., the "five great sacrifices," are also clearly indicative of the Brahmanical bias of the grantor. The whole document, indeed, is pervaded with Hinduism, and the worship of the sun, which the grantor and his family professed, must therefore be considered as a development of one of the wide-spreading ramifications of the Hindu faith.

Lastly, it may be stated that each grant consists of two plates, which were held together by a ring of copper fastened

<sup>1</sup> Thomas's Prinsep, vol. i. p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Table of Inscriptions in Index to the Journ. of the As. Soc. of Bengal. This statement was based on the few passages which had been translated in vol. vii.

by a lump of lead, upon which is impressed in relief the name of "Sâmantha Datta." The grantor thus continued to use his grandfather's seal.

### NO. 1. THE CHÂLUKYA GRANT.

- A 1 ओं स्वस्ति । विजयस्कन्धावारे<sup>1</sup> । विजयपुरदासका<sup>1</sup> । शरदुपगमप्रस-  
 2 न्नगगनतलविषलविपुलि विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणनिकरावभासिते महा-  
 महीपाश्रयदुःखः<sup>2</sup> गंभीर्यवतिस्थित्वनुपालनपरे महाद्धाविवमान-  
 3 व्यसगोचाणां हारीतिपुत्राणां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुधृतानां चलुक्या-  
 4 नामन्ध<sup>3</sup> भ्यपगतसजलजलधरपटलगगनतलगतशिशिरकरकिरणकु-  
 वलयतरयशसः श्रीजयसिंहराजः तस्यसुतः प्रबलरिपुतिमिरपटल-  
 5 भिदुरः सततमुदयस्रोत<sup>1</sup> . . . . मद्यखण्डितप्रतापो दीवाकर इव  
 वल्लभ रणविक्रान्तश्रीबुद्धवर्मराजः तस्य पुत्र प्रिथिव्यामप्रतिरथः चतु-  
 6 रुद्धिसलिलास्वादितयशो धनपवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमप्रभावः स्वबाहु-  
 7 बलिपात्तो<sup>1</sup> . . राजश्रीः प्रातापातिशयोपनतसमग्रसमन्तमण्डलः  
 परस्वरापीदितधर्मार्थकाम<sup>1</sup> . . प्रणतिमात्रमुपरितोषगम्भीरान्नत-  
 8 हृदयः सम्यक्प्रजापालनाधिगतः<sup>2</sup> न्यरूपणभरणागतवत्सलः यथा-  
 भिलषितफलप्रदो मातपितृपादानुध्यातः श्रीविजयराजसर्व्वस सर्व्व-  
 9 नेव<sup>3</sup> विषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु-  
 वस् सखिदितं अस्माभिर् यथा काशाकूलविषयान्तर्गतः<sup>4</sup> सन्धियंपृ-  
 10 थ्णिपरिययचसग्रामः सोद्रगः सोपरिकरः सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभे-  
 11 दिकापरिहीणः भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेशः जंबूसरसामान्य-  
 वाजसनेयकणाध्वर्युसत्रह्यचारिणां मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चपुण्ययशोभि-  
 12 वृद्धये वैशाखपूर्णास्यामुदकातिसर्गणप्रतिपादितः भरद्वाजसगोत्रा-  
 दित्यरविः पत्तिके द्वे इन्द्रशूराय पत्तिका ताविशूराय द्वार्धपत्तिका  
 13 ईश्वरस्वार्धपत्तिका दामाय पत्तिका द्रोणायार्धपत्तिका अत्तस्वा-

<sup>1</sup> The plate is much abraded in these places, and the characters either obliterated or very indistinct.

<sup>2</sup> Here there is a clearly written character which I cannot decipher.

<sup>3</sup> Here the letter *v* has been supplied.

<sup>4</sup> The text is very doubtful here. *Sandhiya* seems clear. The superscribed mark over the last letter may be *anuswāra*, although it is not written in the usual way. The following letter *ra*, which appears in the lithograph, is not fully warranted by the plate. The next two characters may be *prithvi*. Whatever may be the right reading, it is clear that the doubtful word consists of some name or descriptive title of the village granted.

- मिने अर्धपत्तिकामा इलायार्धपत्तिका षष्ठिदेवायार्धपत्तिका सो-  
 14 मायार्धपत्तिका रामशर्मणो अर्धपत्तिका भायूयार्धपत्तिका द्रोणध-  
 रायार्धपत्तिका धूम्रायणसगोत्रावुकायदिवर्धपत्तिका शूरायार्धप-  
 15 त्तिका ॥ दौण्डकीयसगोत्रभट्टेः पत्तिका समुद्राय दिवर्धपत्तिका  
 द्रोणाय पत्तिका त्रयं ताविशर्मणो पत्तिके द्वे भट्टिने अर्धपत्तिका  
 16 वत्रायपत्तिका द्रोणशर्मणो अर्धपत्तिका द्वितियद्रोणशर्मणे अर्धप-  
 त्तिका ॥ काश्यपसगोत्रवप्पस्वामिने तिस्रः पत्तिका दुर्गशर्मणे अर्धप-  
 17 त्तिका दत्तायायार्धपत्तिका कार्ण्वनसगोत्रवादायव. वर्धपत्तिका  
 सेलायपत्तिका द्रोणायपत्तिका ॥ सोमायार्धपत्तिका सेलायार्धपत्ति-  
 18 का वत्रशर्मणे अर्धपत्तिका भायिस्वामिने अर्धपत्तिका ॥ माथरसगोत्र-  
 विशाखायपत्तिका धरायपत्तिका नन्दिने पत्तिका कुमाराय पत्ति-  
 19 का रामाय पत्तिका पाथ्रस्यार्धपत्तिका गणायार्धपत्तिका कौर्दुवा-  
 यार्धपत्तिका भायिवट्टायार्धपत्तिका नर्मणे अर्धपत्तिका रामशर्मणे  
 20 अर्धपत्तिका ॥ हारितसगोत्रधर्मधरायदिवर्धपत्तिका ॥ वैष्णवसगोत्र  
 भट्टिने पत्तिका ॥ गोतमसगोत्र धरायार्धपत्तिका अम्मधरायार्धपत्ति-  
 21 का सेलायार्धपत्तिका ॥ शाण्डिलसगोत्रदाषायार्धपत्तिका ॥ लक्ष्मणस-  
 B 1 गोत्रकार्कुस्यपत्तिका ॥ वत्ससगोत्रगोपादित्याय पत्तिका विशाखाय-  
 अर्धपत्तिका शूरायार्धपत्तिका भायिस्वामिने अर्धपत्तिका यषशर्मार्ध-  
 2 पत्तिका ताविशूरायपत्तिका कर्कस्यार्धपत्तिका ताविशर्मणे अर्धपत्ति-  
 3 का शर्मणे अर्धपत्तिका कुमारायार्धपत्तिका मन्तीश्वरायार्धपत्तिका  
 बाटलायार्धपत्तिका च तेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः बलिचरूवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादि-  
 4 क्रियोत्सर्प्यणार्थं आचन्द्रार्काणवचितिस्थितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रा-  
 न्वयभोग्यः यतस्मदंशैरन्यैर्वागामिभोगपतिभिस्सामान्यभूप्रदानफले-  
 5 षुभिः नलवेणुकदलिसारं संसारमुदधिजलवीचीचपलाश्चभोगाः प्र-  
 बलपवनाहताश्चत्यपत्रचंचलां च श्रियं कुमुमितशिरीषकुमुमसदृश-  
 6 पायं च यौवनमाकलय्य अयमस्मदायो अनुमन्तव्यः पालायितव्यश्च  
 7 यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिद्यः छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स  
 पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयुक्त स्यात् उक्तंच भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ।  
 8 षष्ठिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः ।  
 अच्छेत्ताच्चानुमन्ताच्च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥  
 विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरूवासिनः ।



- 9      कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदयं हरन्ति ये ॥  
 बज्रभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
- 10      यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥  
 पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद् रक्ष युधिष्ठिर ।  
 महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो-नुपालनं ॥
- 11      यानीह दत्तानि पुरानरेन्द्रैः दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि ।  
 निर्वन्तमात्र्यप्रतिमानि को नाम साधुः<sup>2</sup> पुनराददीत ॥
- 12      संवत्सरशतत्रये चतुर्नवत्यधिके वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां<sup>3</sup> नन्नवासापकदू-  
 13      तकं<sup>3</sup> लिखितं महासन्धिवियहाधिक्रतेन खुद्दस्वामिना ॥ संवत्सर  
 ३९४ वैशाखशुद्धाना ॥ चत्रियमात्रसिंहेणोत्कीर्णितं<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

In that royal capital, the city of victory, . . . .<sup>5</sup> extensive as the expanse of the sky when clear from clouds at the approach of summer, illustrious for the numerous gem-like virtues of its various men, a solace to the sorrows of kings who sought its refuge, and, like the great ocean, intent upon the maintenance of its depth and permanence, there was in the family of the Châlûkyas, who were of the Mânavya stock, sons of Hârîti, and worshippers of the feet of Swâmî Mahâ-sena, a king named Jaya Sinha, whose fame was purer than a lotus under the beams of the moon when it comes forth to the sky from behind a mass of rain clouds. His son was Śrî Buddha Varmma Râjâ, heroic in battle, dear as the sun, whose might . . . . who was a continuous current of prosperity, and a thunderbolt piercing the dark clouds of his powerful foes. His son was Śrî Vijaya Râjâ Sarvva, a hero unequalled in the earth, whose fame had tasted the waters of the four oceans, who was equal in dignity with Kuvera, Varuṇa, Indra, and Yama, a fortunate monarch who with his own arm (had

<sup>1</sup> The other grants have *nirbhukta*.

<sup>2</sup> Here there is an *upadhâniya*.

<sup>3</sup> These *anusvâras* are clear in the plate, though not reproduced in the lithograph.

<sup>4</sup> These words run on in the plate, but are written in rather larger letters.

<sup>5</sup> The letters in the first line are much defaced, and the reading is consequently doubtful. *Vijayapura*, "the city of victory," may be a proper name. A few doubtful words occur afterwards, but as they are in the eulogistic portion of the grant, they are of little or no importance.

scattered) the hosts (of his enemies), by whose great might the whole neighbouring region was subdued, in whom duty, wealth, and love<sup>1</sup> were not inimical to each other, whose heart was bowed with the exceeding great joy . . . . who was always devoted to the cherishing of his people, who was compassionate to the poor, and . . . . who granted rewards as they were desired, and respectfully revered the feet of his parents. He (Śrī Vijaya Rājā Sarvva) announces to all governors of provinces, chief men of districts, heads of villages, and others (as follows): Be it known to you that we have granted, with the pouring out of water, in the full moon of Vaiṣākha, for the increase of the merit and fame of ourself and our parents, to the general body of priests and students belonging to the Kaṇva school of the Vājasaneyā (division of the Yajur-veda) in the town of Jambusara,<sup>2</sup> for the performance of the Bali, Charu, Vaiṣwadeva, Agnihotra, and other rites, the village of Pariyachasa . . . belonging to the province of Kāṣā-kula, with the water-courses and all things standing thereon,<sup>3</sup> free from all rights to forced labour for cutting and hewing . . . . and into which the entrance of cheats and outcasts is interdicted, to be enjoyed for all time, as long as the sun, moon, sea, and earth shall endure, by the sons, grandsons, and descendants (of the following Brahmans):—Of the stock of BHARADWĀJA: Āditya Ravi, two shares;<sup>4</sup> Indraṣūra, a share; Tāviṣūra, No. 2, half a share; Īṣwara, half a share; Dâma, a share; Droṇa, half a share; Attaswâmi, half a share; Ila, half a share; Shashthideva, half a share; Soma, half a share; Râma-ṣarmmâ, half a share; Bhâyya, half a share; Droṇadhara, half a share. Of the stock of DHŪMRĀYAṆA: Abuka, No. 2,<sup>5</sup> half a share; Ṣūra, half a share. Of the DAUNPAKĪYA stock: Bhaṭṭi, a share; Samudrâ, No. 2, half a share; Droṇa, three shares; Tāviṣarmmâ, two shares; Bhaṭṭi,

<sup>1</sup> Dharmamârtha-kâma.

<sup>2</sup> The modern "Jumboseer."

<sup>3</sup> See Supplementary Note.

<sup>4</sup> The word *pattikâ*, which I have rendered "share," is not given in the dictionaries. Has it any connection with the *paṭṭi* of the joint-tenancy villages in the N.W. Provinces? Prof. Hall found the word *padam* used for share in another grant.—See Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. vol. vi. p. 546.

<sup>5</sup> The word which is here and in other places written दिव is evidently द्वि, and is so written afterwards.

half a share; Vatra, a share; Droṇa-ṣarmmâ, half a share; the second Droṇa-ṣarmmâ, half a share. Of the KĀṢYAPA stock: Vappa-swâmi, the third, a share; Durga-ṣarmmâ, half a share; Dattâya, half a share. Of the KĀRṆYANA stock: Vâdâya . . . half a share; Sela, a share; Droṇa, a share; Soma, half a share; Sela, half a share; Vatra-ṣarmmâ, half a share; Bhâyi-swâmi, half a share. Of the MĀTHARA stock: Viṣâkha, a share; Dhara, a share; Nandî, a share; Kumâra, a share; Râma, a share; Pâṣra, half a share; Gaṇa, half a share; Koriṭṭuva, half a share; Bhâyivattâ, half a share; Narmma, half a share; Râma-ṣarmmâ, half a share. Of the HĀRITA stock: Dharmmadhara the second, half a share. Of the VAISHNAVA stock: Bhatti, a share. Of the GOTAMA stock: Dhara, half a share; Amma-dhara, half a share; Sela, half a share. Of the stock of ŚĀṆḌILA: Dâsha, half a share. Of the stock of LAKSHMAṆA: Karku, a share. Of the stock of VATSA: Gopâditya, a share; Viṣâkha, half a share; Śûra, half a share; Bhâyiswâmi, half a share; Yasha-ṣarmâ, half a share; Tâviṣura, a share; Karkri, half a share; Tâvi-ṣarmmâ, half a share; Ṣarma, half a share; Kumâra, half a share; Mantriṣwara, half a share; Bâṭala, half a share,—to all these (is the grant made). Wherefore, having reflected that the world is (as frail) as the pith of a reed, bamboo or plantain—that enjoyment is as transitory as a wave of the ocean, that fortune is as unsteady as the leaves of the holy-fig tree agitated by a strong wind, and youth like water on the flowers of the blooming mimosa—let future proprietors of our own or any other race who are desirous of reaping the rewards of gifts of land, which confer a general benefit, respect and maintain this our grant. That ignorant man, with a mind shrouded in thick masses of darkness, who shall seize it, or shall abet the seizure of it, shall be guilty of the five great sins. And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the compiler of the Vedas:—

1. Sixty thousand years the giver of land dwells in heaven, but he who resumes or approves the resumption shall dwell the same number of years in hell.

2. Those who seize a grant of land are verily born (again) as black serpents dwelling in dry hollow trees in the arid forests of the Vindhya.

3. By Sagara and many other kings the earth has been enjoyed, and whoever at any time has possessed the earth has enjoyed its produce.

4. Strenuously guard, O Yudhishtira! land granted aforetime to the twice-born; for better than the gift (itself) is the conservation thereof, O best of rulers.

5. Gifts, productive of fame, have been granted in this world by former rulers for the sake of religion—these are like the unconsumed flowers of an offering—what honest man then would take them back again?

Written on the full moon of Vaiśākha, in the year three hundred and ninety-four, under the direction of Nanna Vāsāpaka, by Khuddaswāmī, the minister charged with the affairs of peace and war. Samvatsara 394, Vaiśākha-suddha.

Engraved by Kshatriya Matr-sinha.

#### NOS. 2, 3. THE GURJJARA GRANTS.

[The numbers refer to the lines in Plate 2. Where the text is divided into two columns, the left column gives the version of Plate 2, the right column that of Plate 3.]

A1 श्रीं स्वस्ति नान्दीपुरीतो । विविधविमलगुणरत्नसम्पादुद्भासिते स  
 2 कलदिङ्मुखे परित्राताशेषसपक्षमहामहीभृति सततमवलङ्घितावधी  
 स्त्रैर्यगाभ्यैर्यलावण्यवतिमहासत्त्वतयतिदुरवगाहे गुर्जरनृपतिवंश-  
 3 महोदधौ श्रीसहजन्माकृष्णहृदयाहितास्पदः कौस्तुभमणिरिव विम-  
 लयशोदीधितिनिकरविनिहतकलितिमिरनिचयः सत्पक्षो वैनतेय  
 4 इवाकृष्टशत्रुनागकुलसन्ततिरुत्पत्तितलवदिनकरचरणकमलप्रणामा-  
 5 पनीताशेषदुरितनिवहः सामन्तदत्तः प्रतिदिनमपेतशङ्कं येन स्थित-  
 मचलगुणनिकरकेसरिविराजितवपुषा विनिहतारिगजकुम्भविगलि-  
 6 तमुक्ताफलाच्छलप्रकीर्णविमलयशोवितानेन रूपानुरूपं सत्त्वमुद्रहता  
 केसरिकिशोरकेणैवोपरिचितिभृतां यच्चातिमलिनकलियुगतिमिर-  
 7 चन्द्रमसमनुदिवसमन्यान्यस्पर्द्धयेव ययुः कलासमूहादयो गुणाः वि-  
 क्रमानीतमद्विलासालसगतयो ररातिगजघटाः प्रमदाश्च यस्य चा-

<sup>1</sup> Both plates agree in writing this word *janmā*, with the final long.

<sup>2</sup> Here I have inserted .



- 8 विरतदानप्रवाहप्रीणितातिमधुकरकुलस्य रुचिरकीर्त्तिवशासहाय-  
 9 स्य सततमसखलितपदं प्रसरतः सद्गंशाहितशोभागौरवस्य भद्रमतङ्गज-  
 स्येवकरघातविनिहतचित्तिभृदुन्नततनूरुहस्य रेवानिर्ज्वरसलिलप्रपा-  
 10 तमधुरनिनादस्य भगोज्जवाः समुन्नतपयोधराहितश्रियो दयिता  
 11 इव मुदे विन्ध्यनगोपत्यकाः यश्चोपमीयते शशिनिसीम्यवैमल्यशोभा-  
 कालाभिर्नैकलङ्केन । श्रीनिकेतशोभासमुदयाधःकृतकुलकण्टकतया  
 12 कमलाकरे न पङ्कजन्मतया । सत्वोत्साहविक्रमैर्मृगाधिराजे न क्रूरा-  
 शयतया । लावण्यस्थैर्यगाम्भीर्यस्थित्यनुपालनतया महोदधौ न व्या-  
 13 लाश्रयतया । सत्कटकसमुन्नतविद्याधरावासतया हिमाचले न ख-  
 षपरिवारतया । यस्य च सङ्गोः शेषोरगस्येव विमलकिरणमणिश-  
 14 ताविष्कृतगौरवः सकलजगत्साधारणो । यस्य प्रकाशते सत्कुलं शी-  
 लेन । प्रभूत्वमाज्ञया । शस्त्रमारातिप्रणिपातेन । कोपो निग्रहेण । प्र-  
 15 सादः प्रदानैर्धर्मो देवद्विजातिगुरुजनसपथ्ययेति । तस्य सूनुः प्रतप्त-  
 चिरकनकावदातः कल्पतरुरिवाविरतमभिरुचितफलप्रदः सततमृ-  
 16 तुगणस्येव वसन्तसमयो वसन्तसमयस्येव प्रविकसितनिबिडचूततरु-  
 17 वनाभोगः सरस इव कमलनिवहः कमलनिवहस्येव प्रबोधो महावि-  
 षधरस्येव मणिर्मणेरिव स्वच्छतारभावो महोदधेरिवामृतकलशो  
 18 मृतकलशस्येवामरणदायित्वप्रभावः वरिण इवमदः प्रमदाजनस्येव  
 विलासो विभवस्येव सत्पात्रविनियोगो धर्मस्येव क्रतुः क्रतोरिव  
 19 स्वदक्षिणकालः प्रेम्ण इव सज्जावः शशिन इवामलकलासमूहो नि-  
 20 यतमलङ्कारभूतः सकलनिशाकराभिरूपवदनः शक्तो वदान्यः प्रबल-  
 रिपुबलानीकसमरसमवाप्तविजयश्रीः श्रीवीतरागापरनामा श्रीज-  
 21 यभटः कलिप्रतिपक्षभयाच्छरणार्थिन इव यमाश्रिताः सविनयागु-  
 22 णाः स्फुरितविमलकीर्त्तिसीदामणिना येन सकलजीवलोकानन्दका-  
 रिणा कालवलाहकेनैवावन्ध्यफलं गर्जताप्रणयिनामपनीतासृष्णा-  
 23 सन्तापदोषाः यश्च शूरोऽपि सततमयशोभीरुरपगततृष्णोऽपि गु-  
 णार्ज्जनाविच्छिन्नतर्षः सर्वप्रदानशीलोऽपि परयुतिहृदयदानपरा-  
 24 बुद्धः पटुरपिपरपरिवादानिधानजडधीः यस्य च न विरोधिरूप-  
 शीलस्य यौवनसद्वृत्तस्य विभवः प्रदानस्य त्रिवर्गसेवापरस्परपीदि-  
 25 तस्य प्रभुत्वं चान्तेः कलिकालो गुणानामिति तस्य सूनुः सजलघनप-  
 26 टलनिर्गंतरत्ननिकरकरावबोधितकुमुदधवलजयशः प्रतानास्थगितो-

- नभोमण्डलो नैकसमरसंकटप्रमुखगतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधूप्र-  
 27 भातसमयवृद्धितच्छ्लोद्वीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंशप्रतापो देवद्विजाति-  
 28 गुरुचरणकमलप्रणामो . . . षट्च . मणिकोटिरुचिरदीधितिविरा-  
 जितमुकूटोद्भासितशीरा दीनानाथातुराभ्यागतार्थिजनाक्लिष्ट . . . .  
 29 तविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्टपैकसहायधर्मसञ्चयः प्रणयपरि-  
 30 कुपितमानिनीजनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशीकृत-  
 B1 विदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमलगुणकिरणपञ्जरचित्रवज्रलकलित-  
 2 मिरनिचयसमधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः श्रीदत्तः<sup>1</sup> कुशली सर्वानेवराज-  
 सामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराप्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुवो-  
 3 धयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिरकुरेश्वरविषयान्तर्गत । शिरीषपट्टक ।  
 4 लषग्रामः सोद्वङ्गः सोपरिकरः सर्वदानसङ्गाह्य सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रा-  
 तिभेदिकापरिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्य आचन्द्रा-  
 5 कौर्णवक्षितितिष्ठितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो  
 जम्बूसरोविनिर्गताकुरेश्वरविष- जम्बूसरोवास्तव्य भारद्वाजसगोत्र-  
 6 यान्तर्गततशिरीषपट्टकवासिव . . कण्वसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणादित्यरवि  
 चवत्ससगोत्राश्चलायनसब्रह्मचा- । तथा तापिशुर । इन्द्रशूर । ईश्व-  
 रिब्राह्मणभट्टाध्यापक । तथा गो- र । तथावत्ससगोत्रभट्टाध्यापक ।  
 पादित्य । तथा भट्टिगण । विशाख गोपादित्य । वाह । विशाख । अ-  
 7 । अग्निशर्म । द्रोण । काश्यपसगो- अग्निशर्म । भट्टिगण । द्रोण । माथ-  
 चभट्टिदाम । तथा वत्र । अध्वर्यु- रसगोत्रविशाख । धर । नन्दि ।  
 वाजसनेयदीण्डकीयसगोत्र क- राम । दीण्डगीसगोत्रतापिशर्म ।  
 ण्वसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणतापिशर्म । द्वितापिशर्म । द्रोण । भट्टि । पि-  
 8 द्वितापिशर्म । दत्तस्वामि । भा- तृशर्म । भागिस्वामि । दत्तस्वामि ।  
 गिस्वामि । पितृशर्म । भट्टि । लाक्ष्मणसगोत्रधर । दामधर । ई-  
 द्रोण । धूम्रायणसगोत्र कर्कशा- श्वर । कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रबाव । घोष  
 ध्यापक । आवुक । कौण्डिन्यस- । शैल । काश्यपसगोत्रभट्टिदामि ।  
 9 गोत्रवाटशर्म । शैल । घोष । म- वात्र । हारीतसगोत्रधर्मधर । धी-  
 हादेव । बाव । माथरसगोत्रधर । अयनसगोत्रकर्कशाध्यापक । आवुक  
 विशाख । नन्दि । रामिल । हा- । इन्द्रशूरादिब्राह्मणेभ्यश्चतुस्त्रिंश-  
 रितसगोत्रधर्मधर । कान्दोग्य- ज्ञो

<sup>1</sup> No. 3 reads श्रीदत्तमुकुशली.

- 10 भरद्वाजसगोत्रकौथुमसब्रह्मचा-  
रिब्राह्मण इन्द्रशर्म । आदित्य-  
वि । तापिशूर । इन्द्रशूर । ईश्वर ।  
धर । दामधर । द्वि ईश्वर । भर-  
11 कच्छविनिर्गतभैरज्जिकानिवा-  
सि सुधर्मणचौलिसगोचपिप्प-  
लादसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभद्र । वा-  
सुशर्म । द्रोणस्वामि । रुद्रादित्य ।  
12 पूर्णस्वामि । एभ्यश्चतुश्चरणब्राह्म-  
णेभ्यश्चातुर्विदपरिकल्पनापूर्वं  
बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं मातापि-  
13 चोरात्मनश्चपुण्यशोभिवृद्धये कार्त्तिक्यामुदकातिसर्गणातिसृष्टो य-  
14 तो ऋद्धवंशैरन्यैर्द्वागामिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलत-  
रङ्गचञ्चलं जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्निभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च  
15 गुणानाकलथ्य सामान्यभोगभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिः शशिकररुचिरं यश-  
श्चिराय चिचीनुभिरयमस्मदायो नुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च । यो वा-  
16 ज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स  
17 पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः [सोपपातकैः]<sup>1</sup> संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च भगवता वेदव्या-  
सेनव्यासेन

<sup>2</sup> षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।

आच्छेत्ता वानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥

- 18 विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।  
कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥  
बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।

- 19 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥

यानीह दत्तानि पुरानरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थं यशस्कराणि ।

- 20 निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥

इति संवत्सरशतत्रये शीत्यधिके इति संवत्सरशतत्रये पञ्चाशीत्य-  
कार्त्तिकशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां लिखितं स- धिके कार्त्तिकपौर्णमास्यां लिखितं

- 21 न्धिवियहाधिकरणाधिकृतरेवेण सन्धिवियहाधिकरणाधिकृतरेवे-

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets are omitted from No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Number 3 reads *shashṭim*.

स्वमुखाच्चायेति ॥ सं ३८० का- ए स्वमुखाच्चायेति सं ३८५ का-  
र्त्तिकशुद्धना र्त्तिकमु . .

22 दिनकरचरणार्चनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोऽयं प्रशान्तरा-  
गस्य

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation! Filled with prosperity! In that great ocean the royal race of Gurjjara, a vast bathing-place<sup>1</sup> of great virtue for its stability, depth, and saltness,<sup>2</sup> whose bounds can never be passed, which cherishes the great earth and all its protected adherents, which faces every quarter of the world, and is adorned with the rich jewels of manifold brilliant virtues, (in that family there was a king named) Sāmanta-datta—by the multitudinous rays of whose brilliant fame, resembling the Kaustubha jewel placed along with Fortune on the heart of Kṛṣṇa at his birth, the accumulated darkness of the Kali age was dispelled—by whom, like the good bird Vainateya,<sup>3</sup> the progeny of the cruel families of his enemies was uprooted, and whose whole collective sin had been removed by adoration of the lotus feet of the (sin-)destroying Sun—who having a body adorned, like a lion's, with (a mane of) manifold stable virtues daily dispelled the doubt which sprung up—the bright canopy of whose fame was spread as it were with pearls fallen from the temples of his slaughtered elephantine foes<sup>4</sup>—and who, like a young lion, constantly upheld truth in its real nature over the kings of the earth. <sup>5</sup>Like as the digits of the moon maintain a daily contest with the darkness of the tenebrous Kali age, so his assemblage of digit-like virtues, having subdued pride, desire, and indolence, kept up a continuous struggle with the elephantine troops of his pleasures. To him came swarms of loving friends, like bees, attracted by the delightful flow of his unceasing liberality. His bright renown secured the submission of men who were not his

<sup>1</sup> *Vagdhā*, a bath. The context would seem to imply some other meaning, about which the lexicons are silent.

<sup>2</sup> *Lāvanya*. This word also signifies "beauty."

<sup>3</sup> Garuḍa.

<sup>4</sup> Alluding to the juice which exudes from the elephant's temples when in rut.

<sup>5</sup> This and the passages which follow are obscure, and are difficult to translate intelligibly.

adherents, and his feet were always stretched forth firmly (*i.e.* he was resolute in his undertakings). He was of good family, kind, beautiful, and honourable. The hair of his body stood erect with pleasure over the kings slain by his hand, destructive as the trunk of a mighty elephant. His voice was as sweet as the sound of the water falling down the cataracts of the Narmadâ; and his wives had beautiful high swelling breasts for his pleasure, like as the valleys of the Vindhya mountains have lofty clouds to make them agreeable.<sup>1</sup> He was comparable with the moon in respect of its soft, pure, bright digits, but not for its spots: with the lotus from the thorniness of its tribe being blunted<sup>2</sup> by the overflowing beauty of the abode of Fortune,<sup>3</sup> but not for its growing in mud: with the lion for excellence, energy, and prowess, not for being the abode of cruelty:—with the ocean for its maintenance of its saltness, stability, depth, and fixity, not for being the dwelling-place of ferocious animals: with the Himalayas for their having the dwellings of the proud Vidyâdharas on their fine declivities, but not for being surrounded by hilly countries.<sup>4</sup> His excellent wealth, like that of the serpent Śeṣha, having its vastness displayed by hundreds of bright-rayed jewels, was common to all the world. The excellence of his family was shown by his virtuous character—his supremacy by his habit of command—his military skill by defeat of his enemies—his wrath by aversion—his generosity by gifts—and his religion by reverence of the gods, brahmans, and spiritual teachers.

His son was Śrī Vita Râga, otherwise named Śrī Jaya Bhaṭa, who was beautiful as hot burnished gold. Like the kalpa tree, he was the unceasing bestower of most desirable benefits. In the cycle of the seasons, he was always like the spring season; and as in the spring season is a grove of

<sup>1</sup> In this passage the word *payodhara* seems to be used in the double sense of "a woman's breast" and "a cloud."

<sup>2</sup> *Adhah-kṛita*, "turned down."

<sup>3</sup> Śrī Lakṣmī, or Fortune, is fabled to dwell in the lotus flower, especially in the red lotus which has thorns.

<sup>4</sup> This last clause is doubtful. The word in the original is *khaṣa*, which is not to be found in the dictionaries. I have read it as *khaṣa*, "a mountainous country to the north of India."



bushy mango trees in full bloom, such was he. He was like a bed of lotus flowers in a lake, and as a bed of lotus flowers was his vigilance. He was a gem as of the great serpent (Śeṣha), and as of a gem was his bright pure nature. He was a pot of nectar from the great ocean, and as of a pot of nectar was the undying sweetness of his disposition. His concupiscence was like that of an elephant, and his amours like those of a voluptuary. His favour to the meritorious was that of magnanimity. He was as a sacrifice to his duty, and as of a sacrifice were his settled times for bestowing gifts upon Brahmans. His good nature was like that of affection. In him was an assemblage of qualities brilliant as the digits of the moon. In the use of ornaments he was moderate. His face was like unto the full moon. He was courteous and generous, and fortunate in victories obtained in battle over the hosts of his powerful enemies. The virtues seeking refuge in dread of their enemy, the Kali age, humbly resorted to him as to Yama (the god of justice). As a black rain cloud with its thunderings brings fertility and plenty, so he, by the lightning of his bright glittering fame, drove away the evils of heat and thirst from his friends. Although he was a hero, he was fearful for his surpassing fame; though his desires were extinguished, he was desirous of sharing in the acquisition of merit; though thoroughly generous in character, he was averse to bestowing the hearts of damsels upon strangers; and though eloquent, he was dull-witted in calling names and casting abuse upon opponents. In him beauty was no obstacle to good nature, nor youth to good conduct, nor wealth to liberality, nor pursuit of the *tri-varga* (love, duty, and wealth) to abstinence from harm of his fellows, nor power to forbearance, nor the Kali age to all virtues.

His son was Śrī Datta Kuṣālī, whose fame is as pure as a water-lily expanding under the rays of the moon as it emerges from a mass of rain clouds, and who is like the firmament when unconcealed by spreading clouds; whose brilliant merciless valour is unintentionally extolled by the weeping at early morn of the women of the neighbouring families of his slaughtered foes encountered in many battles; who rever-

ently bows to the lotus feet of the gods, Brahmans, and spiritual teachers; whose head is adorned with a crown shining with millions of brilliant rays emitted by charming jewels; whose heart is grieved for the poor, the sick, and the needy, who resort to him in their necessities; and who is a store of virtue, that only friend which realizes for us our hopes in heaven. In his character the astuteness of the courtier is manifested by the gentleness which he displays in soft words and respectful courtesy to women who are angry about his love. The rays of whose brilliant virtues form as it were a cage into which the thick darkness of the Kali age is cast, and who has obtained the five great titles.<sup>1</sup> He (Śrī Datta Kuṣālī) announces to all Rājās, neighbouring proprietors, governors of provinces, the chief men of districts, heads of villages, and others (as follows):—Be it known to you that we have granted, with the pouring out of water in the month of Kārttika, for the increase of the merit and fame of ourself and our parents, and for the performance of the Bali, Charu, Vaiṣwadeva, Agnihotra, the Pancha-mahâ-yajnas (five great sacrifices), and other rites, the village of Śirisha-padraka, a lasha-grâma<sup>2</sup> included in the province of Akrûreṣwara, with the water courses<sup>3</sup> and all things standing thereon, including every variety of income, free of any rights to forced labour for cutting and hewing, and into which the entrance of cheats and outcasts is interdicted, to be enjoyed for all time as long as the sun, moon, sea, and earth shall endure by the sons, grandsons, and descendants of the

following Brahmans who, following Brahmans who are having left the town of Jam- to dwell in the town of Jam-

<sup>1</sup> *Pancha-mahâṣabda*. Here I follow Prof. F. E. Hall, who has a learned note upon the phrase in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. vi., p. 540. He was, however, confessedly doubtful and dissatisfied, and I cannot but share his doubts, though I have no better interpretation to propose. *Ṣabda*, "sound, word," can hardly signify "title." Mr. W. Elliot considers the phrase equivalent to the *Naubat* of the present day, that is, "a band of music." (See *supra*, page 255.) I am inclined to believe it must mean a series of mystical words or invocations, such as cited by Prof. Hall in the note referred to.

<sup>2</sup> This is clearly a descriptive term, not part of the name of the village; but its meaning is not discoverable.

<sup>3</sup> See supplementary note at the end, upon the meanings of the technical terms employed to designate the rights conferred.

busara,<sup>1</sup> dwell in the village of Śirīsha-padraka included in the district of Akrûṣwara, viz., to Bhaṭṭi the Adhyāpaka (teacher) and to Gopāditya, Bhaṭṭijana, Viśākha, Agniśarmma, and Droṇa, associate Brahmans and Brahmachāris of the Vatsa stock and Āṣwalāyana school—and to Bhaṭṭidama and Vatra of the Kāśyapa stock. To Tāpi-śarmma, Tāpi-śarmma the second, Datta-swāmi, Bhāgi-swāmi, Pitri-śarmma, Bhaṭṭi, and Droṇa, associate Brahmans and Brahmachāris of the Kaṇwa school (of the Yajur), and of the stock of Duṇḍaki, adhwaryyu of the Vājasaneyā (portion of the Yajur). To Karkka the Adhyāpaka, and to Abuka, both of the Dhūmrāyana stock—to Vāta-śarmma, Śaila, Ghosha, Mahādeva, and Bāva, of the Kaunḍinya stock—to Dhara, Viśākha, Nandi, and Rāmila, of the Mathara stock, and to Dharmmadhara, of the Hārīta stock. To Indraśarmma, Ādityaravi, Tāpiśura, Indraśura, Īṣwara, Dhara, Dāmadhara, and Īṣwara the second, associate Brahmans and Brahma-

busara—to Ādityaravi and to Tapisura, Indraśura Īṣwara, associate Brahmans and Brahmachāris of the Bhāradwāja stock and Kaṇwa sect—to Bhaṭṭi the Adhyāpaka, and to Vāha, Viśākha, Agniśarmma, Bhaṭṭijana and Droṇa of the Vatsa stock—to Viśākha Dhara, Nandi, and Rāma, of the Māthara stock—to Tapiśarmma, Tāpiśarmma the Second, Droṇa, Bhaṭṭi, Pitriśarmma, Bhāgiswāmi, and Drattaswāmi, of the Daunḍakī stock—to Dhara, Dāmadhara, and Īṣwara, of the Lakshmaṇya stock—to Bāva, Ghosha, and Śaila, of the Kaunḍinya stock—to Bhaṭṭidāmi and Vatra, of the Kāśyapa stock—to Dharmmadhara, of the Hārīta stock—and to the Adhyāpaka Karkka and to Ābuka and Indraśura, of the Dhaumrayana stock. To these thirty-four Brahmans (is the village granted).

<sup>1</sup> The modern Jambosir or Jumbosier.

châris of the Chhândogya Bhâradwāja stock and of the Kauthuma school (of the Sâma-veda). Also to the following residents of Bherajjikâ who have retired from Bharukachchha,<sup>1</sup> viz., to Bhadra, Vâsuṣarmma, Droṇaswâmi, Rudrâditya, and Pârṇaswâmi, associate Brahmans and Brahmachâris of the Sudharmmaṇa-chaulisa stock, and of the Pippalâda school (of the Atharva-veda.) To Brahmans of these four schools is the village granted with the especial object of promoting the study of the four Vedas.<sup>2</sup>

Wherefore having reflected that this world is as unstable as a wave of the ocean driven by a powerful wind, that riches have no lasting existence, but pass away and are worthless, whilst virtues endure for a long time, let future proprietors<sup>3</sup> of our own or any other race, who are desirous of reaping the rewards of gifts of land which confer a general benefit, and who wish to gather for themselves a long-enduring fame, bright as the rays of the moon, respect and preserve this our grant. That ignorant man, with a mind shrouded in thick masses of darkness, who shall seize it, or shall abet the seizure of it, shall be guilty of the five great crimes (and the minor sins).<sup>4</sup> And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the compiler of the Vedas.

<sup>1</sup> Broach?

<sup>2</sup> So I understand the passage "*Ebhyaḥ chatuḥ-charaṇa-brâhmanebhyaḥ châtur-vidyâ-parikalpanâ pûrvvam.*" The word *charaṇa* evidently signifies in this place a school or sect of Vedic learning. The four schools specified are those of Āśvalâyaṇa for the Rîg, Kaṇva for the Vâjasaneyi or White Yajush, Kuthumi for the Sâman, and Pippalâda for the Atharvan. The Sâman is further marked by the Brahmans being of the Chhândogya Bhâradwāja stock, i.e. of the stock of the Chhândogya or Sâma-veda Bhâradwāja, as distinguished from the more celebrated Bhâradwāja of the Rîg-veda.

<sup>3</sup> Bhoga-pati.

<sup>4</sup> Upa-pâtaka. This is found only in No. 2.

(Admonitory verses : same as 1, 2, 3, and 5 in Grant No. 1.)

<p>Written on the fifteenth of Kârttika-<i>ṣuddha</i>, in the Samvatsara three hundred and eighty, by Reva, the minister charged with the affairs of peace and war, under the (King's) own order. Sam. 380, Kârttika <i>ṣuddha</i>.</p>	<p>Written on the full moon of Kârttika in the Samvatsara three hundred and eighty- five, by Reva, the minister charged with the affairs of peace and war under the (King's) own order. Sam. 385, Kârttika-<i>su</i> . . .</p>
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This is the autograph of Praśânta-râga, son of Vita-râga, devoted to the worship of the Sun.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

The legal terms employed in grants of land by conveyancers to express the privileges bestowed, and, perhaps, also, the limitations imposed on the grantees, have not received the attention they deserve. Prinsep long ago in some disparaging words remarked upon their obscurity.<sup>1</sup> For many of them the dictionaries afford no assistance. Prof. F. E. Hall, in his notes upon the grants of King Hastin,<sup>2</sup> has lately called attention to some of these terms, and has laudably endeavoured to throw some light upon their meaning; but he says, "there is something of experiment in the meanings attached." The terms used in the three grants before us are with one exception identical. *Sodranga* : *Soparikara* : *Sarvâdânasanjrahya* : *Sarvâdityavishṭiprâtibhedikâparihîṇa* : *Bhûmichhidranyâyena* : *Achâtabhaṭa-praveṣya*.

The terms *Sodranga* and *Soparikara* are generally found together. I have never met with *Sodranga* alone, but *Soparikara* is occasionally found without its companion. Colebrooke rendered *Soparikara* as "superior taxes;"<sup>3</sup> and Colonel G. Le Grand Jacob as "all the produce of the village granted."<sup>4</sup> The two terms in conjunction have been very variously rendered. In Wathen's Grant<sup>5</sup> they are translated as "the hamlets and other things pertaining to the village." Ball G. Shastree<sup>6</sup> translates them as "public buildings and appurtenances." In some other instances of their employment the translations are too vague and loose to admit of the original terms and the

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Beng. A. S. vol. v. p. 728.

<sup>3</sup> Trans. A. S. vol. i. p. 465.

<sup>5</sup> Journ. Beng. A. S. vol. iv. p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 1861, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Journ. Bom. R. A. S. vol. iv. p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> Journ. Bom. R. A. S. vol. ii. p. 6.



translations being identified. Prof. F. E. Hall says,<sup>1</sup> "I have ventured a guess as to the meaning of *Soparikara*, which I am unable to recall, in a paper not by me at this moment. The first (*Sodranga*) may define the village under alienation vertically to the mid-air." The guess as to the meaning of *Soparikara* has not met the eye of the writer of these notes—the meaning suggested for *Sodranga* is evidently founded on the signification commonly attached to the word *udranga*, "an imaginary city, one floating in mid-air." It is true that grants occasionally convey the land with all that is above it to *ākāśa* or the sky, and below it to *pātāla* the infernal regions; but this supposed reference to the mythic aerial city of king *Harishchandra* is, as its proposer felt, very unsatisfactory. The interpretations which I am about to offer may be equally unconvincing, but they, at least, bring us down to things terrestrial. *Udranga*<sup>2</sup> I take to be a derivative from *udra*, "water," and *uparikara*, a formation from *upari*, "above, upon." As such they may be the ancient representatives of the technical terms *jalkar* and *bankar*, "rights over water and wood," which constantly appear in modern deeds of conveyance and agreements for the occupation of land. There is one apparent objection to this interpretation, which is, that the term *soparikara* is occasionally used even when the trees are distinctly conveyed by other words; thus, "*Savṛkshamāldākula soparikara*."<sup>3</sup> This, however, must not be looked upon as an insuperable objection to the proposed interpretation, for the grant following the one last referred to<sup>4</sup> has the following "*trṇakāśhṭhodakopetaḥ savṛkshamāldakulaḥ*," where the *kāśhṭha* (wood) is conveyed by one phrase and the *trṛksha* (trees) by the following one.

The meaning of the next term, *Sarvādānasangrāhya*, is "inclusive of all receipts" or sources of revenue, and this presents no difficulty.

The phrase *Sarradityavishṭipratibhedikā pariḥīṇa* is less common; indeed, I have not met with it elsewhere. *Vishṭi*, "forced labour, corvée," is common enough. The words *ditya* and *pratibhedikā* are not given in the dictionaries, but their derivation is manifest, and points to some connection with "cutting and hewing." *Diti*, from the root *dti*, signifies "cutting, splitting;" and *pratibhedikā* is a derivative of the common root *bhid*, to "break, tear." The exact signification of the phrase is not apparent, but there can be no doubt

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Beng. R. A. S. 1861, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> In Grant No. 1 the word is written *sodranga*, but the nasal is too regularly inserted in other places to allow of this being deemed other than an error.

<sup>3</sup> Trans. R. A. S. vol. i. p. 465. Journal, vol. v. p. 176. Grant No. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Grant No. 9. See also Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. vol. vi. p. 543.

of its general import. The last word I read *parihīṇa* "exclusive," for it can hardly be *aparihīṇa*, "not exclusive." Taking the phrase in the general sense proposed, it is still susceptible of two different applications. It may declare the exemption of the tenure from all liability to forced labour for cutting or hewing; or, on the other hand, it may be a limitation or bar upon the grantees against exacting such labour from the inhabitants.

The next term, *Bhūmichhidranyāyena*, is the most puzzling of all. The meaning of the words forming the compound is obvious enough; but what the whole signifies, or how it is to be taken as an instrumental case, is by no means clear. The phrase is found in other places and in different combinations. In Wathen's Grant we have *samastarājakiyāndm ahastaprekshañiyam bhūmichhidranyāyena isham eva cha*;<sup>1</sup> and in the Samangarh plate we find *bhūyachchhidranyāyena udaka pūrvo dattaḥ*.<sup>2</sup> Thus, in each instance, the words in immediate conjunction with the phrase are different, so that it would seem to have a distinct independent meaning of its own, and not to be connected with the form of words accompanying it. No attempt has hitherto been made to assign any meaning to the phrase, and I am forced to content myself with bringing together these instances of its use as a help to future inquirers.

The last phrase, *achāṭabhaṭapraṇeṣya*, is one that occurs very frequently. The last word is frequently written *praveṣya*. This phrase has generally been considered to relate to the passage or billeting of troops. Wilkins, in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, appears to render it, "there shall be no passage for troops." Ball G. Shastree, amending a former translation of the phrase, says, "I have been satisfied that it means 'the village is not to be entered into by the troops and followers of the king.'"<sup>3</sup> Professor Hall translates it, "exempt from the ingress of fortune tellers and soldiers," referring to Colebrooke's Digest for the meaning assigned to *chāṭa*,<sup>4</sup> and he repeats this rendering in another grant subsequently published.<sup>5</sup> There is a similar phrase in the Seoni grant,<sup>6</sup> *abhaṭachchhatrapraṇeṣya*, which is rendered "free from military billeting." Notwithstanding this concurrence and weight of opinion, the rendering seems to me unsatisfactory. The meaning of *chāṭa* is cheat,

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Beng. A. S. vol. v. p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> Journ. Bom. R. A. S. vol. ii. p. 371. The composition of this grant, as also the reproduction and transcription, all appear to be very faulty. The transcription gives *bhūya*, but the fac-simile may be read *bhūma*. There can be no doubt that *bhūmi* was intended.

<sup>3</sup> Journ. Bom. R. A. S. vol. ii. p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. vol. vi. p. 541.

<sup>5</sup> Journ. Beng. A. S. 1861, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., vol. v. p. 728.

rogue, peculator, or, as above, a fortune teller; and that the word is to be taken in a disreputable sense is clear from a grant in the Bombay Journal,<sup>1</sup> where the phrase runs *achāṭabhāṭa kusīdādinām apraveṣya*, the meaning of *kusīda* being "money lender or usurer." The meanings usually attached to *bhāṭa* are "warrior, soldier, barbarian, outcast of a particular tribe." Now it seems incredible that the troops of the king should be associated with and placed in the same category with cheats (or fortune tellers) and usurers. Part of the phrase is certainly used in a base sense; a similar meaning ought therefore to be given to *bhāṭa* if the word will bear it, and its signification of "outcast, barbarian," seems quite in accordance with its associates. Taking this view, then, the village is to be free from the entry of cheats and outcasts; but is this a privilege conferred by the grantor or a duty imposed upon the grantee? It is difficult to conceive that a king should profess to grant such an immunity in perpetuity; while the imposition of such a restriction on the grantees would be for the general benefit of society, and a very proper provision. There can be no doubt that the majority of these conveyancing terms denote privileges conferred; but we have seen that a former one may possibly be taken as a limitation or restriction upon the grantees. If conclusive reason is found for considering any of the terms to express restrictions I should be disposed to class this last one among them.

<sup>1</sup> Grant No. 1. Vol. ii.

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